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UNCLAS BEIJING 10713

USIA

FOR P/PF, EA, VOA/BRF, C-RUSSELL; STATE FOR EAP/CM,
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E.O. 12356: N/A

SUBJECT: TEXT OF FORMER PRESIDENT CARTER'S SPEECH,
BEIJING FOREIGN AFFAIRS COLLEGE, APRIL 14, 1991

1. SPEAKING BEFORE AN AUDIENCE OF ABOUT 500
STUDENTS AND FACULTY AT THE BEIJING FOREIGN AFFAIRS
COLLEGE ON THE AFTERNOON OF SUNDAY, APRIL 14, FORMER
PRESIDENT CARTER HIGHLIGHTED HIS EARLIER CONTACT
WITH CHAIRMAN DENG XIAOPING RECALLING THE CONTEXT OF

U.S.-CHINA RELATIONS THEN AS COMPARED WITH THE
PRESENT. PRESIDENT CARTER RHETORICALLY ASKED THE
FRIENDLY BUT CONTROLLED AUDIENCE IF THE WORLD
CONSISTS "OF INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES THAT CAN PURSUE
THEIR DISTINCT AND INDEPENDENT INTERESTS OR IS OUR
ERA INCREASINGLY CHARACTERIZED BY THE
INTERDEPENDENCE OF SEPARATE COUNTRIES, NONE OF WHICH
CAN EXCLUSIVELY CONTROL ITS OWN DESTINY." HE NOTED
"WE ARE ALL BOUND BY SOME UNIVERSAL COMMITMENTS
DERIVED FROM THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND
ITS VARIOUS DECLARATIONS INVOLVING HUMAN RIGHTS."
DESCRIBING PRESENT COMMUNICATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO
NATIONS AS "NOT IN THE BEST INTERESTS OF EITHER
NATION", HE POINTED OUT THAT THE EXERCISE OF "BASIC
PRINCIPLES OF INQUIRY" ON SUCH PRINCIPLES AS FREEDOM
OF EXPRESSION AND FREEDOM OF RELIGION "DO NOT
COMPRISE 'INTERFERENCE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF
ANOTHER COUNTRY'". U.S. PRESS ATTENDING THE SPEECH
INCLUDED A CAMERA CREW FROM CNN, AN AP STILL
PHOTOGRAPHER, AND REPORTERS FROM VOA, AP, UPI, THE
WASHINGTON POST, THE NEW YORK TIMES, TIME MAGAZINE
AND THE LA TIMES.

2. HEREWITH THE TEXT OF JIMMY CARTER'S SPEECH
BEFORE THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COLLEGE, BEIJING, CHINA,
ON APRIL 14, 1991, AS DELIVERED.

(BEGIN TEXT) I AM HONORED TO BE IN THIS GREAT
UNIVERSITY. I HAVE REQUESTED AN OPPORTUNITY TO
SPEAK TO THIS DISTINGUISHED AUDIENCE FOR A SIMPLE
REASON: I AM CONCERNED ABOUT THE STATE OF

SINO-AMERICAN AFFAIRS. THIS IS A TIME TO SPEAK
FRANKLY AND OPENLY, AND I CAN THINK OF NO BETTER
FORUM THAN THIS COLLEGE AND AN AUDIENCE THAT

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INCLUDES THE FUTURE DIPLOMATS OF CHINA.

AS YOU KNOW, THE WORLD IS CHANGING RAPIDLY, AND IN
PROFOUND WAYS. THE GLOBAL SYSTEM OF TELE-
COMMUNICATIONS INVOLVING TELEVISION, SATELLITES, AND
FACSIMILE TRANSMISSIONS IS CHANGING PEOPLE'S ABILITY
TO KNOW ABOUT THEMSELVES AND ABOUT HOW OTHERS LIVE.
THE ENTIRE WORLD BECOMES INVOLVED IN MAJOR EVENTS,
AS WAS THE CASE RECENTLY IN THE GULF WAR, AND THE
PRESENT TURMOIL IN THE SOVIET UNION, AND THE
TIMANAHEN SQUARE CONFRONTATION IN 1989. PEOPLE NOW
TRAVEL MORE EASILY FROM ONE COUNTRY TO ANOTHER, AND
BRING NEW CONCEPTS BACK HOME FROM ABROAD.

TOGETHER, WE FACE PRESSING PROBLEMS: NUCLEAR
PROLIFERATION: THERE ARE 30 MAJOR WARS STILL
UNDERWAY IN THE WORLD NONE OF WHICH ARE BETWEEN
SOVEREIGN NATIONS; REGIONAL ARMS RACES; THE
CONTINUING SPREAD OF COMMUNICABLE DISEASES, MOST OF
WHICH COULD EASILY BE PREVENTED; ENVIRONMENTAL
DETERIORATION; THE POPULATION EXPLOSION; AND THE 30
MILLION REFUGEES NOW BEING INCREASED IN NUMBER BY
KURDS AND SHIITES ESCAPING FROM IRAQ.

INTERNATIONAL TRADE IS BECOMING EVER MORE VITAL TO
THE WELL-BEING OF ALL CITIZENS, AND TRADE IMBALANCES
ARE LEADING TO UNDESIRABLE PROTECTIONIST
RESTRAINTS. FOREIGN DEBT OF MANY DEVELOPING

COUNTRIES IS ALMOST UNBEARABLE, AND PREVENTS
ADDRESSING THE NEEDS OF PEOPLE IN THOSE COUNTRIES
WITH INCOME NORMALLY EXPECTED FROM THEIR OWN EXPORTS.

WARS AND POLITICAL OPPRESSION OF INDIVIDUAL LEADERS
RESULT IN DESIRES OF PEOPLE TO EMIGRATE TO OTHER
COUNTRIES, AND DISPUTES ARISE AS THESE FLUID GROUPS
BEGIN TO SHARE DISSIMILAR CULTURES.

THESE KINDS OF STRESSES MAKE IT ALMOST IMPOSSIBLE
FOR ANY ONE GOVERNMENT IN ISOLATION TO WEATHER THE
STORMS OF CHANGE. INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION BECOMES
INCREASINGLY DESIRABLE.

CHAIRMAN DENG XIAOPING AND I RECOGNIZED SOME OF
THESE NEEDS WHEN WE DECIDED A DECADE AGO TO END 35
YEARS OF ESTRANGEMENT BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES AND
TO ESTABLISH FULL AND COMPLETE DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS
BETWEEN OUR NATIONS. AS A RESULT OF THIS, BOTH
NATIONS HAVE BENEFITED GREATLY. WE SIGNED A TRADE
AGREEMENT, EXTENDED AMERICA'S MOST-FAVORED-NATIONS
POLICY TO CHINA, WELCOMED CHINA'S FULL PARTICIPATION
IN THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND AND THE WORLD
BANK, AND ENCOURAGED FREQUENT AND UNRESTRICTED
VISITS BETWEEN OUR OFFICIALS AND PRIVATE CITIZENS.

MOST NOTABLY, I PERSONALLY INVITED CHINESE STUDENTS
TO COME TO OUR COUNTRY FOR THEIR HIGHER EDUCATION.
AT FIRST, CHAIRMAN DENG XIAOPING ASKED IF AS MANY AS
500 AT A TIME WOULD BE WELCOME. I RESPONDED THAT

THERE WOULD BE NO LIMIT. SINCE THEN, TENS OF
THOUSANDS OF EXCHANGE STUDENTS HAVE BROUGHT MUTUAL
BENEFITS TO OUR SOCIETIES.

HE AND I HAD FULL AND FRANK DISCUSSIONS ABOUT THE
PROBLEMS IN TIBET, ABOUT RELIGIOUS FREEDOM, FREEDOM
OF SPEECH, AND ABOUT SIMILAR QUESTIONS THAT HE ASKED
ABOUT MY OWN COUNTRY, INCLUDING SUCH SENSITIVE
SUBJECTS AS OUR POLICY TOWARD VIETNAM, KOREA, AND

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THE PEOPLE IN TAIWAN.

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WE UNDERSTOOD THAT OUR RELATIONS COULD NOT WORK WELL IF WE LACKED A COMMON UNDERSTANDING OF WORLD AFFAIRS. RECOGNIZING THAT WE WILL INEVITABLY HAVE DIFFERENT INTERESTS AND PERSPECTIVES, WE KNEW THAT IT WOULD ALWAYS BE BENEFICIAL TO SHARE VIEWS IN A FRANK AND OPEN MANNER.

THERE IS A FUNDAMENTAL QUESTION THAT MUST CONTINUALLY BE ADDRESSED: DOES THE WORLD CONSIST OF INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES THAT CAN PURSUE THEIR DISTINCT AND INDEPENDENT INTERESTS OR IS OUR ERA INCREASINGLY CHARACTERIZED BY THE INTERDEPENDENCE OF SEPARATE COUNTRIES, NONE OF WHICH CAN EXCLUSIVELY CONTROL ITS OWN DESTINY? I THINK IT IS THE LATTER OPTION, BUT TODAY THERE SEEM TO BE MISUNDERSTANDINGS BETWEEN OUR TWO NATIONS ON THIS FUNDAMENTAL ISSUE.

WE ARE ALL BOUND BY SOME UNIVERSAL COMMITMENTS DERIVED FROM THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND ITS VARIOUS DECLARATIONS INVOLVING HUMAN RIGHTS.

BEING MUTUAL SIGNATORIES OF SOME OF THESE DOCUMENTS, OUR NATIONS MUST EXPECT OUR POLICIES TO BE SCRUTINIZED AND ANALYZED BY OTHERS. THE EXERCISE OF THESE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF INQUIRY INVOLVING SUCH PRINCIPLES AS FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION AND FREEDOM OF RELIGION DO NOT COMPRISE "INTERFERENCE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF ANOTHER COUNTRY."

YOUR GOVERNMENT IS EXPRESSING GRIEVANCES TOWARD THE UNITED STATES FOR MAKING THESE INQUIRIES AND EXPRESSIONS OF CONCERN. HIGH LEVEL VISITS BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES HAVE ALMOST CEASED. A FREE AND EASY DIALOGUE HAS BECOME ALMOST IMPOSSIBLE. THIS SITUATION IS NOT IN THE BEST INTEREST OF EITHER COUNTRY.

I SHOULD REMIND THIS AUDIENCE THAT I DO NOT SPEAK FOR THE U.S. GOVERNMENT BUT I SPEAK AS A PRIVATE CITIZEN.

THERE ARE NOW 50,000 CHINESE STUDENTS IN THE UNITED STATES, MANY OF WHOM, SINCE JUNE 1989, DO NOT KNOW HOW TO DEAL WITH THEIR QUANDRY. ALMOST UNANIMOUSLY,

THEY ARE TOTALLY LOYAL TO THEIR COUNTRY AND DO NOT ADVOCATE VIOLENCE OR ANY ACTIVITIES THAT COULD BE CALLED SUBVERSIVE. I MEET WITH THESE STUDENTS AND I KNOW THEM WELL. THEY REQUEST ASSURANCE OF FREEDOM OF SPEECH AS CHINESE LAW GUARANTEES, TO KNOW THAT

THEIR PASSPORTS ARE VALID, THE RIGHT OF RETURN TO CHINA WITHOUT BEING DETAINED AND TO RETURN TO A FOREIGN COUNTRY TO CONTINUE THEIR EDUCATION, AND CONSTRUCTIVE DIALOGUE WITH CHINESE OFFICIALS OVERSEAS.

I MET RECENTLY WITH PROFESSOR FANG LI ZHI, WHO ASSURED ME THAT NO CHARGES HAD EVER BEEN BROUGHT AGAINST HIM, AND THAT HE WISHES TO RETURN TO CHINA AS A LOYAL CITIZEN TO RESUME HIS FORMER LIFE IN TEACHING AND RESEARCH.

THERE HAVE BEEN WORLDWIDE CONCERNS ABOUT THE FATE OF CHINESE STUDENTS AND WORKERS WHO HAVE NOT BEEN GUILTY OF CRIMES OF VIOLENCE OR SUBVERSION. THE

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NAMES OF SOME OF THE LEADERS HAVE BECOME WORLD FAMOUS, WITH UNANSWERED QUESTIONS RAISED ABOUT THE SPECIFIC CHARGES AGAINST THEM, EVIDENCE PRESENTED, AND THEIR STATUS AS PRISONERS. THIS LIST OF WORLD FAMOUS PEOPLE INCLUDES WEI JINGSHENG, WANG JUNTAO, CHEN ZHONG, NAN DONGFANG, AND LOBSANG TENZING.

I DO NOT KNOW THE DETAILS OF THESE CASES, BUT HAVE BEEN DISTRESSED AT THE CONCERN OF CHINESE STUDENTS ABROAD AND BY THE GROWING DIVISIONS BETWEEN OUR COUNTRIES BECAUSE OF THEM. IN ORDER TO RESTORE THE GOOD RELATIONS FORGED BY CHAIRMAN DENG XIAOPING AND ME AND MAINTAINED UNTIL JUNE 1989, MY HOPE IS THAT THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT WILL DECIDE TO GRANT AMNESTY TO ALL NON-VIOLENT DISSIDENTS, INCLUDING THOSE NAMED ABOVE AND THE BUDDHISTS IN TIBET, AND CHRISTIANS WHO

WERE NOT INVOLVED IN VIOLENT OR SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES BUT JUST EXERCISING THEIR RIGHTS AS WORSHIPERS.

ALTHOUGH MY PRIMARY MISSION HERE IS TO CONCLUDE EXTENSIVE PROGRAMS SPONSORED BY THE CARTER CENTER TO TRAIN TEACHERS IN WORKING WITH HANDICAPPED STUDENTS AND TO DEDICATE A MAJOR FACTORY THAT WILL MASS PRODUCE ARTIFICIAL ARMS, LEGS AND OTHER PROSTHESES, I ALSO WANT TO TAKE BACK TO THE UNITED STATES PUBLIC, TO MEMBERS OF MY CONGRESS AND OTHER OFFICIALS, A POSITIVE AND FACTUAL REPORT CONCERNING THE HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES.

BEFORE COMING HERE ON THIS TRIP I ASKED TO BE PERMITTED TO VISIT SOME OF THE POLITICAL PRISONERS, OR AT LEAST MEET WITH THEIR FAMILIES. THIS REQUEST WAS DENIED ON THE GROUNDS THAT ONLY THE FAMILIES OF PRISONERS COULD PAY SUCH VISITS AND THAT IT WOULD NOT BE CONVENIENT FOR ME TO SEE THE FAMILY MEMBERS.

OTHER AMERICANS AND I RAISE ISSUES OF HUMAN RIGHTS NOT IN AN ATTEMPT TO IMPOSE OUR VALUES ON ANY OTHER NATIONS OR OUT OF DISRESPECT FOR THE SOVEREIGNTY OF OTHER GOVERNMENTS. WE HAVE UNMET HUMAN RIGHTS NEEDS IN THE UNITED STATES, PARTICULARLY INVOLVING HOMELESSNESS, UNEMPLOYMENT, AND LACK OF ADEQUATE HEALTH CARE. I AM EQUALLY CONCERNED ABOUT THESE HUMAN RIGHTS VALUES IN MY COUNTRY.

WE BELIEVE THAT IDEAS CANNOT LONG BE SUPPRESSED AND - THAT GOVERNMENTS MUST RESPOND TO THE ASPIRATIONS OF ITS PEOPLE, PARTICULARLY ITS YOUTH. DIALOGUE ON SUCH ISSUES IS NECESSARY AND UNAVOIDABLE.

I KNOW I HAVE RAISED THE SENSITIVE TOPICS OF INTERDEPENDENCE AND HUMAN RIGHTS, AND I AM DISCUSSING THESE SAME ISSUES IN ALMOST THE SAME LANGUAGE WITH CHINESE GOVERNMENT LEADERS DURING MY VISIT HERE IN BEIJING.

THE STRUGGLE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IS A GLOBAL CONCERN. MY HOPE IS THAT, ON THEIR OWN INITIATIVE, THE GOVERNMENT LEADERS OF CHINA WILL ADDRESS THESE QUESTIONS AND ACT IN A GENEROUS WAY TO ALLEVIATE LEGITIMATE CONCERNS. WHEN I RETURN TO THE UNITED STATES, I WILL ENCOURAGE MY COUNTRYMEN, AND ESPECIALLY MEMBERS OF CONGRESS, TO RESUME VISITS TO CHINA. ONLY WITH FULL DISCUSSIONS AND FREE EXCHANGE OF IDEAS CAN DISPUTES BE AVOIDED AND MISUNDERSTANDINGS BE RESOLVED.

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I TRUST THAT THE FRIENDSHIP THAT WAS FORGED BETWEEN
ME AND CHAIRMAN DENG XIAOPING AND BETWEEN OUR TWO
GREAT NATIONS CAN BE PERPETUATED AND EVEN ENHANCED
DURING THE COMING YEARS. THIS IS IMPORTANT NOT ONLY
FOR OUR TWO PEOPLES, BUT FOR THE ENTIRE WORLD.

THANK YOU. (END TEXT).

3. SHANGHAI AND SHENYANG MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

YATES

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